

PROCEEDINGS
of the
Annual Dinner
of
The National Institute of Social Sciences

1957

The National Institute of Social Sciences

The National Institute of Social Sciences is an honorary association of men and women who have been leaders in public and civic life and who have had notable achievement in the field of social sciences. Its members have included several former Presidents of the United States and other national leaders.

It was chartered by Act of Congress in 1899, and, like the Institute of France, it exists to recognize contributions to humanity by its members and those it honors at its Annual Awards Dinner.

One of the purposes of such recognition by the Institute is to inspire our young people—especially in these times when the forces of education are concerned with making our youth aware of the importance of the arts, the sciences and the humanities in their lives.

This program of the Institute gives purpose to a statement addressed to the 1957 Awards Dinner by President Dwight D. Eisenhower:

"In creative art, in government, in spiritual and moral leadership, in discipline, in charity, our democracy has unequalled resources in the talent and devotion of its people."

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1957

PRESIDENT

Frank Pace, Jr.

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Mrs. August Belmont	Herbert Hoover
Hugh Bullock	Walter Hoving
John S. Burke	Herbert H. Lehman
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Gilbert Darlington	Mrs. Junius Spencer Morgan
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Lewis W. Douglas	Allan Melvill Pope
Robert W. Dowling	Stanley Resor
Harris A. Dunn	Mrs. Charles M. Richter
Charles Edison	G. Howland Shaw
John Gerdes	Mrs. Harper Sibley
J. Peter Grace, Jr.	Alfred P. Sloan, Jr.
Peter Grimm	Arthur Hays Sulzberger
William Edwin Hall	Myron C. Taylor
William E. Hill	Juan T. Trippe
Mrs. Ripley Hitchcock	Mrs. Wendell L. Willkie
	Owen D. Young

TREASURER

Lewis Latham Clarke

SECRETARY

Rosina Hahn

GOLD MEDALISTS OF THE INSTITUTE

1913-1957

1913	1921
*Archer M. Huntington	*Chas. Frederick Chandler
*Samuel L. Parrish	*Calvin Coolidge
*William H. Taft	*Madame Marie Curie
	*Cleveland H. Dodge
1914	1923
*Charles W. Eliot	*Charles B. Davenport
*Major-Gen. Geo. W. Goethals	*Sir Auckland Geddes
*Abraham Jacobi	*Emory R. Johnson
*Henry Fairfield Osborn	*Monsieur Jules J. Jusserand
	*John D. Rockefeller
1915	1924
*Luther Burbank	*Walter Hampden
*Andrew Carnegie	*Charles E. Hughes
	*Mrs. C. Lorillard Spencer
1916	1925
*Robert Bacon	*Mrs. E. H. Harriman
*Mrs. H. Hartley Jenkins	*William H. Park
*Adolph Lewisohn	*Elihu Root
	Owen D. Young
1917	1926
*George W. Crile	*Rev. S. Parkes Cadman
*Surgeon-Gen. Wm. C. Gorgas	*Clarence Hungerford Mackay
*John Purroy Mitchel	*Stephen Tyng Mather
*Michael Idvorsky Pupin	*Mary Schenck Woolman
1918	1927
*Henry P. Davison	*George Pierce Baker
Herbert C. Hoover	*Walter Damrosch
*William J. Mayo	Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick
	*Adolph S. Ochs
1919	1928
*Samuel Gompers	*Liberty Hyde Bailey
*William Henry Welch	*Robert W. deForest
	*Willis R. Whitney
1920	
*Alexis Carrel	
*H. Holbrook Curtis	
*Sir Wilfred T. Grenfell	
*Harry Pratt Judson	

* Deceased

1929	1937
*Mrs. Valeria Langeloth Rose Livingston John D. Rockefeller, Jr. James T. Shotwell *Daniel Willard	*James Rowland Angell Mrs. Edward W. Bok J. Edgar Hoover *Wesley Clair Mitchell
1930	1938
*Anna Billings Gallup *George R. Minot *Wm. Lyons Phelps *Nathan Straus	*John W. Davis Walter S. Gifford Dorothy Thompson
1931	1939
*Grace Abbott *Richard Clarke Cabot *Mrs. Grace Goodhue Coolidge *Frank B. Kellogg	*Martha Berry *William Church Osborn George Wharton Pepper
1932	1940
*Edward E. Allen *James Howell Post *William C. Redfield Gerard Swope	*Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt *James E. West *Wendell L. Willkie
1933	1941
*Newton D. Baker *Clifford W. Beers *Commander Evangeline Booth	*Norman H. Davis Mrs. J. Borden Harriman *Alfred E. Smith
1934	1942
Mrs. Eleanor Robson Belmont *Walter B. Cannon Samuel Seabury	Rufus B. von KleinSmid *Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick Donald M. Nelson
1935	1943
*Cornelius N. Bliss *Harvey Cushing *Carter Glass *George E. Vincent	Madame Chiang Kai-shek *Edwin Grant Conklin Mildred H. McAfee, USNRA Juan Terry Trippe
1936	1944
*Nicholas Murray Butler *Mrs. Harrison Eustis William Edwin Hall *J. Pierpont Morgan	Bernard M. Baruch Mrs. Henry Pomeroy Davison *James G. K. McClure

* Deceased

1945	1952
Vannevar Bush	Harold Raymond Medina
Mrs. John Henry Hammond	Helen Adams Keller
*William Mather Lewis	John Jay McCloy
	Robert Abercrombie Lovett
1946	
Virginia C. Gildersleeve	1953
Robert Moses	E. Roland Harriman
*Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.	Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby
	Charles F. Kettering
1947	
Katharine F. Lenroot	1954
Edward Johnson	Howard A. Rusk
*Thomas J. Watson	Mrs. Lytle Hull
	Walter Bedell Smith
1948	
Mrs. Georgiana Farr Sibley	1955
Basil O'Connor	Samuel D. Leidesdorf
Warren R. Austin	Mrs. Elisabeth Luce Moore
	Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
1949	
Mrs. Lillian M. Gilbreth	1956
Alfred P. Sloan, Jr.	Clarence G. Michalis
General of the Army	Mrs. Mary Pillsbury Lord
George Catlett Marshall	Henry T. Heald
	1957
1950	Rev. Dr. William F. Graham, Jr.
*Henry Bruére	Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce
Sarah Gibson Blanding	General Alfred M. Gruenther
General Carlos P. Romulo	
1951	
Bayard Foster Pope	
Paul G. Hoffman	
John Foster Dulles	
Lewis W. Douglas	
General of the Army	
Douglas MacArthur	
* Deceased	

PRESIDING

FRANK PACE, JR.
President of the Institute

AWARD OF MEDALS

For distinguished services to humanity, the GOLD MEDAL of the
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES was presented to

REVEREND DR. WILLIAM F. GRAHAM, Jr.
Evangelist, author, world traveler

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HONORABLE CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

(Mrs. Henry R. Luce)
Diplomat, author, public servant

•

GENERAL ALFRED M. GRUENTHER

Soldier, statesman, humanitarian

•

MEDALS COMMITTEE

Clarence G. Michalis, <i>Chairman</i>	William Edwin Hall
Hugh Bullock	Walter Hoving
Gilbert Darlington	Ward Melville
John Gerdes	Bayard F. Pope
Peter Grimm	Mrs. Wendell L. Willkie

Remarks by the President

Distinguished honorees, our former Presidents, Mr. Michalis, Mr. Bullock, members of the National Institute, their friends and their guests:

We meet tonight at a challenging period in world history. Sputnik has changed the face of the globe and the face of the universe. The emphasis today is on the physical sciences. Efforts are being made to reorient our educational system to meet the requirements of a growing threat in the Russian orbit.

I think it is meet and proper that the National Institute of Social Sciences should call attention to the fact that, while it is essential that we get ahead in the advance of physical sciences, at the same time emphasis must be placed on growth and advance in the social sciences. These have been the bases of the growth of our civilization and will continue to be over the years and therefore in this period. As the pendulum swings, we must see that it swings properly and intelligently.

There is another reason why tonight is an important night for us and that is that all thoughtful men and women are reexamining and rethinking our way of life to make sure that it is flexible to meet the challenge of today and tomorrow and we find that many thoughts and ideas are being suggested as to how we meet the new threat of the present time. I personally think that the results that will be achieved will be achieved not as a result of some spectacular idea but as a result of a great many ideas and thoughts that will bring a gradual change to meet the requirements of the time.

One thing has stood out particularly in my mind as I have travelled around the world. When I was Secretary of the Army I went everywhere that there were G.I.'s. One can't travel extensively without coming to realize how fortunate one is to be born and raised in this country, to realize and recognize and understand the great glories of the freedom that comes to us naturally and with only limited sacrifice.

And it is also my strong feeling that one of the things that is important to re-emphasize in our way of life is the fact that we as Americans are born with a major debt that we have to pay back over a lifetime. We see it particularly as we watch children growing up, seeing how much they are given and how difficult it is to impress upon them the responsibilities that are ours. And if the young can grow to know that in a country such as ours just being good is not enough, just being a good citizen in the negative sense of the word is not sufficient, but that throughout life there is a debt that must be paid back—the privilege of living here, this, in my estimation, is one of the small things that will carry us for a long time in a position of leadership in a world which we must lead.

And as I have looked over the careers of our three honorees tonight, it has been impressive to me that obviously each of the three has either instinctively or knowingly sought throughout their life to pay back

their debt for the privilege of being an American; and being the kind of people they are, I am likewise fully aware that they know that the debt is never fully paid and they will go on paying it back throughout their lifetime. And so I feel that in honoring these three, and in finding a common thread that runs through three fascinating and distinguished lives, the philosophy of paying for a privilege is certainly a uniform thread in those lives.

This is an important and an exciting evening. To lend emphasis to the fact that that is so, I have a telegram addressed to me from the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, which reads as follows:

"Please give my greetings to the members and guests of the National Institute of Social Sciences assembled in honor of three distinguished American leaders, Clare Boothe Luce, Billy Graham and Alfred Gruenthaler. These three citizens could serve as symbols of the diversified power of our nation. In creative art, in government, in spiritual and moral leadership, in discipline, in charity, our democracy has unequalled resources in the talent and devotion of its people. Congratulations to them and best wishes to you all. Signed Dwight D. Eisenhower."

The purpose of our meeting this evening is, of course, to award Medals to our three distinguished recipients, to read a citation which we think in a limited way spells out some of their accomplishments and contributions and to listen to whatever they may have to say in response which can address itself to anything that is uppermost in their minds at this particular time and this particular place. The first of our honorees is the Reverend Dr. Billy Graham, for whom I have the following citation:

"For distinguished service to humanity. Inspired evangelist, dedicated crusader, with humility and tireless energy, you have taken the Christian message to millions throughout the world. For you, no challenge has been too great, no task too arduous. Your international ministry has brought new life, hope and comfort to men and women everywhere. Your capacity to transmit to others your deep conviction that a return to God is essential in preserving our way of life may be a turning point in the history of this period."

Dr. Graham, it is my privilege to present you with the Medal of our Institute and with it of course goes our expression of confidence and belief in what you have done and what you will do. Dr. Graham.

Acceptance by Dr. Billy Graham

Mr. Pace, Mrs. Luce, General Gruenthaler, Distinguished Guests and Ladies and Gentlemen:

Of all the people in this room tonight, I feel that sincerely I am the least worthy to be a recipient of this award and this high honor. I say with a predecessor of mine two thousand years ago that I am the least of all the saints and I sincerely feel that way tonight. And to have the privilege of sitting at this table and receiving an award along with two such distinguished Americans who have contributed so much to their nation is indeed a moment that I will cherish throughout my entire life.

I would like to receive this award if I might temporarily because whatever I may do, I do in the strength and power of another. Because I am convinced that if God should take His hand off my life and off my lips, they would turn to clay and I would be unable to speak to the multitudes of people again with any power at all. And so I must give the credit and the award to whom it belongs and I shall hold it in trust temporarily until that day that I shall see Him and give it to Him to whom it belongs.

The President tonight has already indicated that this is a critical period in history. I don't have to remind you of that. All of you know that. All of us are aware that there has never been a moment like this. Judeo-Christian civilization is being threatened and challenged as it has never been challenged in history by a Christian heresy named Communism. It is dedicated, sacrificing, working, building, planning, scheming to control the world. And unless we arouse ourselves and awaken from our sedative-inspired sleep, they may do just that. And we will lose by default.

Last evening I was asked by a distinguished American, "What is our hope?" I do not believe that the hope of America at this hour lies altogether in military preparedness and catching up technologically, though all of that is important and I am just as much for military preparedness as any military men here tonight.

But there is something else. In my room tonight I was reading the story found in the sixth chapter of the Second Kings in the Old Testament—about a prophet of Israel. Israel was being threatened and invaded by the Assyrians. And the King of the Assyrians said, "Why is it that we cannot defeat them?" And his generals reported, "We can defeat their army but there is a man of God in Israel by the name of Elisha, and before we can win the battle we are going to have to capture Elisha." So he said, "Well, go get Elisha" and so they sent a whole regiment of troops to capture one man. I don't know whether you did that, General Gruenthaler, or not, but the King of the Assyrians did that to capture one man. And early in the morning at sunrise they surrounded the mountains. Elisha's servants came to him and said, "Master, there's a whole army out here surrounding the mountain come to capture you." And Elisha was very calm and he sat in an

old rocking chair as I have imagined him many times rocking back and forth and he made this statement. He said, "They that be with us are more than they that be with them." Then he said, "Lord, open the eyes of the servant" and the eyes of the servant were open. Around about the mountain defending Elisha was a host of angels with drawn swords. Those angels frustrated the army of the Assyrians, blinded them, confused them and they were defeated.

America's strength tonight lies not only in her military preparedness and her scientific knowledge, and her wealth and economic strength, but America's strength tonight lies in her spiritual and moral resources and her faith in God. Do I have hope tonight? Yes. I believe that if we as a nation will turn to almighty God at this hour, He will help us.

Mr. Khrushchev in his interview with Mr. Hearst last week or two weeks ago made some statements about God. He said, "Your God will never help you." I would say to Mr. Khrushchev tonight that our God will help us if we will turn to him. But remember this one thing—one day someone asked Mr. Lincoln, "Don't you think God is on our side?" Mr. Lincoln said, "I am not concerned as to whether God is on our side but I am concerned as to whether we are on God's side." Let's be sure that we Americans are on God's side, and we can get on God's side by a repentance of our sins of which we are guilty as a nation and a rededication to the principles that made us great. And unless we have the same dedication as these people three thousand miles away have, we may be in danger of losing everything we have.

Thank you for this honor and I want to take this opportunity to say to you that I want to rededicate my life tonight as one American to do everything I possibly can to contribute and to help our country at this hour. Thank you very much.

The Medal to Clare Boothe Luce

Our next distinguished honoree, Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, whose citation reads:

"For distinguished service to humanity. Ambassador, writer, devoted public servant, you have achieved a position of eminence in many and varied fields of service to your fellow man. To each new responsibility you have brought qualities of imagination, courage and broad human understanding which have advanced the interests of a peaceful world. In an era which demands the utmost of all our citizens, you stand as a shining example of accomplishment born of determination to contribute to the solution of our total problem. Our nation is fortunate that we can look to continued service from so gifted and talented a person." The Honorable Clare Boothe Luce.

Acceptance by Clare Boothe Luce

Mr. President, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: Thank you for the award you have given me this evening. You have been too generous. It is a great honor indeed to join the distinguished list of citizens on whom you have conferred the National Institute of Social Sciences Award in the past. It is an especial pleasure to receive it in the present company.

I would like to say that in so far as this award is being given to me for my work as your Ambassador to Rome, I do not accept it entirely for myself—I accept it, rather, as the captain of a brilliant team of Foreign Service officers, whose loyalty and devotion alone made the accomplishments of our Embassy possible.

My situation, as I stand here, in the order of speaking, suggests a theme. It is a theme that could take a lifetime to clarify, but need take no more than the ten minutes allotted to me to state. This theme has already been touched on by Dr. Graham. It is that America's survival depends on our understanding of the relationship and interdependence of three values, the values of Faith, the values of Force, and the values of Reason. It is easy to see that Dr. Graham is a symbol of Faith, and that my good friend, our noble General here, even in retirement, is a symbol of Force. But it is not so easy, either for you or for me, to see how I may be made to stand as a symbol of Reason. I ask to be accepted as such as a one time representative of Government, which is, or ought to be, the institutional realm of Reason. Certainly Diplomacy is the reasonable art. It is the art of achieving national ends by rational means—means short of war.

Which of these three values, Faith, Force, Reason, is today to be given priority in the affairs of men? The question, in history, has never been an easy one. All history has been a long argument concerning, so to speak, the proper value to be assigned to these three values in the life of nations as well as men. I believe the answer for most of us here can be quickly given. It is, indeed, the answer Dr. Graham has just given. To us, here, the values of Faith are the paramount ones. They are the ones by which we judge nations and civilizations, and consequently should be willing in time to be judged.

By Faith, we of the West mean not only religious creeds, but those spiritual, ethical, and moral attitudes and principles, those values not subject to scientific proof or disproof, which have informed all our institutions and all our laws. I speak of that body of religious insights and moral principles which we have evolved from two thousand years, as Dr. Graham pointed out, of Judeo-Christian, Roman, Greek and Anglo-Saxon history. Especially in America, we mean those truths concerning the dignity of man created in God's image—truths which our Founding Forefathers called in the Declaration of Independence, "self-evident truths." We mean those values by which we try to live, and for the preservation of which we are, or should be, willing to die, as Dr. Graham told you.

These truths are utterly despised in the Communist world. They are also regarded with cynicism, contempt or indifference in other vast areas. It is debatable, indeed, whether these "self-evident" truths are as self-evident to many Americans as they were in Washington's and Lincoln's days. This is unfortunate, especially as the history of the modern world should convince us that where the Force of Faith grows weak, we must increasingly put our Faith in Force.

That is where we are today. That is why we, and our world, are in a crisis.

Today, standing between Faith and Force, Reason faces an unhappy fact: We are undone; you are undone; I am undone. Diplomacy, government, all our institutions for our self-betterment, all our efforts in the social sciences, in education, and for the welfare of mankind are undone; America itself is undone—if either force or faith fails us. Today, Reason tells us this: We must look to the values of Faith and to the values of Force, as never before in our entire history. We must do so because first, we face a Faith which holds tremendous appeal for millions of the world's people: Communism.

Secondly, we must do so because we face a force as exemplified by 175 Russian divisions on the borders of the free West, and symbolized by Sputnik I and II; divisions that can, if not matched or mastered, dissipate or destroyed, conquer or annihilate us all.

We must oppose a stronger Faith to their Faith, a stronger Force to their Force. If our own Faith fails and if consequently we abandon those principles of justice, equity, of law and charity, to which it has given birth, we shall be overcome by falsity. The false faith of Communism will carry the day, and our freedoms will die.

If our Force—our military force—fails us, we will likewise be at the mercy of falsity. Which, Reason asks, is in the worse state of disrepair—our Faith or our Force? No doubt you all know the remark Stalin is supposed to have made when a profoundly anti-Communist speech of the present Pope was drawn to his attention:

He said, shrugging, "What does it matter? The Vatican has no divisions."

In a few days' time there will be a conference of chiefs of state in Paris, to discuss how best to strengthen NATO. One wonders if Khrushchev, reading about it may not also shrug and say to his colleagues, "What does it matter? These NATO divisions have no faith."

It is true and proper that the Church—and the forces of religion in the West—should command no divisions. Is it equally true that the nations which command divisions should have no faith?

I hope that General Gruenther will forgive me for addressing myself, even so briefly, to a subject upon which no one has ever spoken so eloquently as he—and a problem which he, more than any man living, has sought to resolve: the problem of NATO strength. It is not the problem itself I intend to discuss, but what it signifies. The NATO nations represent about 430 million people. These nations comprise the richest, most highly industrialized, technologically advanced areas

on earth. We have in abundance, super-abundance, the 3 M's of military Force: Manpower, materiel and money. So what?

The manpower shield we have called into being consists in 18 divisions. These 18 divisions face 175 Russian divisions, *not* including the satellites, recruited from a nation of 216 million people, in an area where the living standards are well behind those of most of the NATO countries. This nation also has massive airpower, atom and hydrogen bombs, and a technical capacity for making guided missiles, as symbolized by Sputnik I and II, which may be as great as our own. In short, the USSR, with half as many people, not half our combined wealth, has put into the field against us almost nine times as many soldiers.

If it is Faith which calls Force into being as the shield of the nations, there can be little doubt that the Russians have the greater faith. Yes, the Soviets have a false religion, an unreasonable faith. But the comparative weakness of NATO is the living proof that those who are true to a false faith can accomplish more on the operative plane of history, than those who are false to a true Faith.

We may well say, watching the Sputnik sail over our heads, "The children of darkness are wiser in their generation than the children of light."

Plainly, if today our Force is insufficient, our Reason, as exemplified by our Foreign and Domestic Policy, and our Diplomacy, has not succeeded in clarifying to ourselves and to the world the issues of Freedom, our failure does not lie in the area of manpower, money, or materiel. Our failure lies in the mysterious realm of the *will*, in the mystic realm of Faith.

Our problem—the problem of our leaders—is to summon up the will; and then, in unitary wisdom, use our reason to conceive our purposes and to pursue them at whatever the cost, at whatever the sacrifice, and put them to the ultimate service of purpose and will. This is Faith, operating on the plane of History. For it is true today, as it was in Lincoln's time, that America, born of those very "self-evident truths" is indeed the last best hope of men on earth.

I cannot prove this, Ladies and Gentlemen, but I think that our time, the time of our nation's greatness, is very short, and growing shorter, unless we can summon that Faith, and the will born of Faith, to defend our Freedoms courageously, prudently, and wisely.

The Medal to General Alfred M. Gruenther

The next distinguished honoree, General Alfred M. Gruenther:
"For distinguished service to humanity. Your unique accomplishments in many spheres have never dimmed your sense of personal humility. Your sparkling humor, never unkind, has provided a pleasant interlude for associates around the globe. Strict disciplinarian, always demanding more of yourself than of others, you are a perfectionist in the best sense of the word. Your brilliant military career reached a fitting climax as Supreme Commander of NATO. Your broad international as well as military problems tested and extended your great powers of persuasion and mental acumen and you emerged as a truly global figure. Now, as head of the American Red Cross, you add the dispensation of mercy to your other great qualities."
General Gruenther.

Acceptance by General Alfred M. Gruenther

Mr. President, Dr. Graham, Ambassador Luce, Ladies and Gentlemen:

When I received word I had been selected as one of the three Medalists this evening, I began to speculate: "How could this possibly be?" It was clear enough why Billy Graham and Clare Luce—distinguished citizens of the world—should be honored. But no such justification was possible in my case.

Then I learned that the National Institute of Social Sciences has recently come under the domination of a Dictator, Mr. Frank Pace. He has abused me for years; he has forced me to say "yes" when I wanted to say "no"; he has beaten me shamefully in bridge—and for money, too. A few months ago his conscience began to bother him, and I noticed a complete change of attitude. Tonight his debt has been repaid. He managed to sway the Medal Committee, and here I am. I am sure I do not deserve this distinction, but I am not going to protest too much for fear there might be a last minute change. I am delighted, however, because it gives me a chance to be with some very wonderful people this evening.

A month ago—on Sunday afternoon, November 3—I was in New Delhi, India, attending the International Red Cross Conference where representatives from 83 nations had assembled. I was twirling the dial of the radio in my hotel room when I heard the words, "A new Sputnik was launched today." The announcement was a brief one from an Australian radio station. I was able to pick up other tidbits from other stations throughout the day, but on the whole, the news was meager. The next morning, however, Sputnik II, weight 1,184 pounds, was headlined in every Indian newspaper.

The main theme in the accounts which appeared that Monday morning, and on the following days centered on America's great humiliation. Actually, the stories were based mainly on quotations from the United States by some of our prominent citizens. The impression one received in New Delhi was one almost of hysteria in the United States. There was considerable self-criticism, and that was all to the good. However, I was distressed to note the impressions of many of the Conference delegates that the United States had received such a prestige blow that it would seriously reduce her ability to continue to discharge the leadership burden which has fallen on her shoulders.

I think it is well to ponder for a few moments this evening to consider where we stand with respect to the balance of power. I think that question can be answered categorically by stating that, as of today, the balance of power is still on the side of the Free World, and definitely so. This is no reason for complacency, and it does not follow that we shall be in the same position five years from now. There will probably be many ups and downs in the field of technological development. Those will continue after we have caught up with the Sputniks—and I can assure you we are going to catch up in that field. We all

recognize that we are in a type of depression now; it is a temporary one, and we should not despair.

There *has* been a change in the world power balance. But it did not take place on October 4, when Sputnik went into its space orbit. That change has been taking place for several years. During that period it became clear that distance which has for generations given us a cushion of time in defense matters was rapidly disappearing. As of October 3rd, it had virtually disappeared. This danger will probably continue for many years to come. Living with danger is not new in this world. Nation after nation has had hostile neighbors across its borders for generations, and in some cases for centuries. Sputniks I and II have dramatized this situation for us, but they did not create it. Please understand I do not want to appear to be issuing tranquilizer pills in an endeavor to soft pedal the Sputnik developments. Even after we overcome that handicap, we will still have a major security problem.

In 1949, our Government recognized that no longer would it be possible for the United States to defend itself from North America. Our ramparts must be based far from our shores. This realization by us and by several other nations resulted in a significant advance in the concept of collective security. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, commonly referred to as NATO, was the first development. General Eisenhower went to Europe in January 1951, to prepare the defense of that area, as a vital part of the security of the United States. Since then we have made alliances with other nations throughout the world, until there are now over 40 of them. The Alliance System—in spite of its many weaknesses—has been, by and large, successful. Certainly the strength we now have in NATO will cause any potential aggressor to think carefully before it launches a major attack.

The basic concept of NATO is to *prevent* a war from taking place. It is not to *win* a war, because no side can "win" a third World War. NATO maintains in being a strong retaliatory force capable of launching such a devastating blow that we believe the attack will never take place as long as we have that capacity. Currently, we place heavy reliance on our long range air power to inflict that retaliatory blow if, unfortunately, an attack should come. We still retain that capacity today, just as we had it on the day before Sputnik I was launched. Our system of air bases is so widely dispersed that it cannot be neutralized even by a massive surprise attack. We have the shield to which Mrs. Luce referred, and which is constantly being strengthened. Thus we hope to deter the other side from having the will, the temptation, to use its force. But the military aspect is only one element of security. We must also develop the economic and political or psychological aspects.

With respect to the psychological factor, it was interesting to watch the Red Cross Conference in New Delhi. This was a humanitarian conference, and ordinarily only humanitarian subjects would

be discussed there. In those fields, the conference was most successful. But there was one item on the agenda—"The Protection of Civilian Populations"—that resulted in the introduction of a strong political overture.

On five separate occasions, the Soviet delegations sponsored resolutions calling for the banning of nuclear weapons. Also, they supported several resolutions calling for the cessation of nuclear tests. These resolutions were defeated by reasonably large majorities, something like 60 to 25 or 30, with usually about 10 abstentions. But defeat never discouraged them. Each time, the Soviets—or one of the satellite delegations—returned to the charge.

What were the Soviet Bloc representatives trying to accomplish? Why did they push this matter so strongly when they knew they had no chance of adoption? Why should they attempt to introduce such a controversial political subject in a humanitarian gathering? The Conference took place in an under-developed part of the world, where a large part of the population lives under conditions of poverty which are almost indescribable. India has a population of 375,000,000; the life expectancy is 32 years; the average national income is \$58.00 per person per year, as against ours which is slightly in excess of \$2,000. The situation is not unique with respect to India. It is average for that part of the world. The Soviets were making their appeals at the International Red Cross Conference, so that they could make an impact on the people in that area. Success would tend to place the United States in the position of appearing to advocate weapons of mass destruction and thereby show the complete disregard of the United States for the cause of humanity. In short, they were trying to lower our prestige. That was also one of the objectives in launching Sputniks I and II. Unfortunately, we gave them some aid and comfort by our frantic reactions.

The effect of what the Soviets said at New Delhi was negligible in Western Europe. In the United States their crusade was not even reported, because it was old news. But in the Far East, they were able to make a powerful impression. This highlights once again the fact that we are engaged in a very difficult competition, which military power alone will not resolve. We can project our leadership throughout the world only if we are able to convince the peoples of the world that we are guided by the moral principles outlined here this evening by Dr. Graham and Ambassador Luce.

The challenge is a tremendous one, requiring us to broaden our vision. It requires convincing demonstrations to the peoples in all parts of the Free World that our interests and theirs are substantially the same, because we have a common concept of freedom and human dignity which binds us together, and which must be preserved at all costs.

We must understand that, in discharging this heavy responsibility, our very high standard of living attracts a certain amount of jealousy and envy. Admittedly, our task requires a great deal of wisdom and

patience and understanding on the part of all of us to enable us to function effectively as good partners. We must know a great deal more than we know now how the world ticks and how Alliances can be made to succeed.

This problem will confront the heads of Government in Paris when the NATO meeting starts two weeks from now. It will not be an easy conference. Whenever fifteen sovereign nations deal with almost any problem, there are bound to be some disagreements. That is especially true at this critical period of world history. Nevertheless, I am confident that this meeting will be a success, although I suggest that our hopes should not be raised to the point that we will expect spectacular, immediate results.

It has been a very great pleasure for me to be here this evening. I am truly grateful to the National Institute of Social Sciences for the honor that you have paid me. Just one final thing. Dr. Graham spoke about religion. I am sure you are aware that there is one other subject that bothers Khrushchev just as much as religion—maybe more. That is the free enterprise system. As I look around tonight, I see a great many leaders who have made major contributions to that system. You are the people for whom the Communists have an implacable hostility. They are certain that their system will prevail in the end. But I have faith that we have the resources and the spiritual dedication to bring us through this struggle successfully. Please help to insure that the American people understand the nature of our global difficulties.

We *can* solve our problems; we *will* solve them. It will require long hard work and sacrifice, but for free men there is no other way to insure survival.

President Pace: Thank you very much, General Gruenther. This has been the largest meeting that the National Institute has ever had. I think that those of you who have been here more often and longer than I must agree with me that it also must be one of the most exciting meetings we've ever had. We've had placed before us faith, force and reason. We've had placed before us our problems starkly and our hopes clearly. I think as always these three Honorees gave more than they got. I would like to have all of us, before we adjourn, stand in one last round of recognition of all three of these truly wonderful people.

Thank you Ladies and Gentlemen. We stand adjourned.